1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

561 Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiinisiek*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yosonik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *ingitokisiek*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

[304] [582] [880] [589]

Kinship and Behaviour

●602 The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

[171]

601 Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *eiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *eiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *eiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamoyo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiet;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *kamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special
604 place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

l; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliot*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliot*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that " a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and ' clean fun.' " Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Koipuncis cicoto*, " you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *koroniot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

601

Lakwat

Son and daughter (w), husband's brother's children (w).

Affinals: *Konyit*

Father's sister's husband*, mother's sister's husband (w), father's brother's daughter's husband*, father's sister's daughter's husband*, sister's husband*, mother's sister's daughter's husband*, mother's brother's daughter's husband (w), daughter's husband, wife's brother, husband's brother (w).

Pukot

Father's sister, father's brother's son's wife*, father's sister's son's wife*, brother's wife, mother's brother's son's wife*, mother's sister's son's wife*, wife's sister.

Kipukotiet

Wife's sister's husband.

Pakuo

Son's wife, husband's father, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter.

Pôker

Daughter's husband (w), wife's mother, husband's mother (w), wife's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband (w).

Sandet: son's wife (w).
Pamono: wife's father.
Kamati: husband's sister (w).

The use of kinship terms

[600] In practice kinship terms are used as a form of address and as a method of showing respect to seniors, who acknowledge the respect by using the reciprocal term to the juniors. To illustrate the use of these terms, I have prepared a statement of the relatives of a man named Pilo arap Katam of Kiptarakon (Sosoiyo group), in which it will be noted that the terms fall into six groups, with one isolated term:

1. *Papa-Eiyo*, in the first ascending generation.
2. *Akui*, the second ascending, first ascending, and second descending generations.
3. *Macokor*, in the third ascending, own, and first descending generations.
4. *Kesenda*, in own, and first and second descending generations.
5. *Apaa*, in the first descending generation.
6. *Mama*, in the first ascending, own, and first and second descending generations.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukot* and *konyit*; but her son son Kipkoiec is, as *macokor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macokor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macokorennyon*, and addressed as *macokoronni*, *macokor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

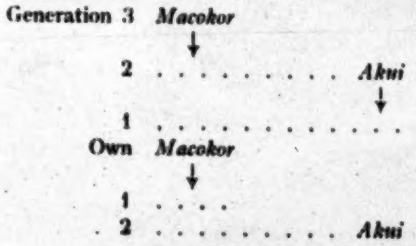
Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesenda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesendannyon* and would greet them as *kesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

602 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *koko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *leiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *macokor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



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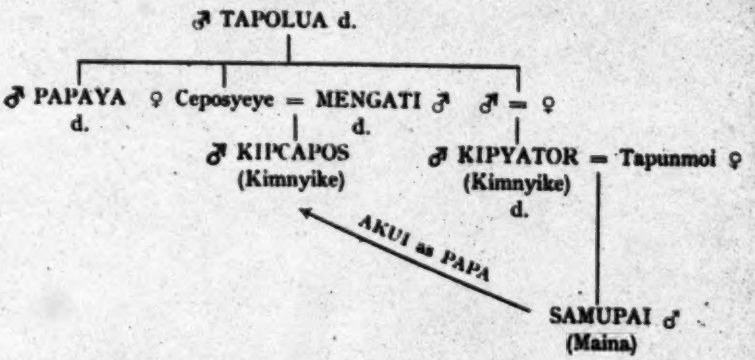
he respected and feared both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both oiled him [12]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

When a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *akui*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *akui*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at Kipukua where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cesundil a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kipungei, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimutai

[12] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who oils his head and face in token of consent.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe koheny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo ualek ce somis, amu ya, ngut ualek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

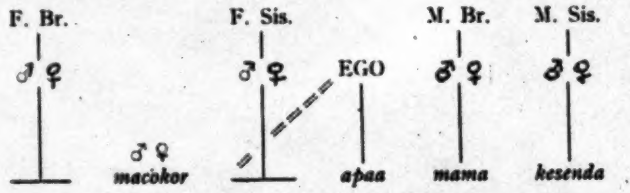
It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamet', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama,* and *kesenda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor,* his *mama,* and his *kesenda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

582
602

[Text continues TOP of P. 186, B - Analysis]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.= *APAA, apaa.* 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.=*MAMA, mama*, placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.=*MAMA, mama*, again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the *tiliet*.

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.= *KESENDA, Kesenda*, placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S, and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.= *AGWI, agwi*, i.e. they call ego *agwi*=grandfather; and all of this generation are *agwi* to ego, i.e. all children of *machokor*, *apaa*, and *mama*, though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are *kesenda*.

[Text continues middle of P. 186, B - Analysis]

[P.186,B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his *machokor* was only ten, he could marry her only as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can attain. And again, owing to the small number of clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan, and so barred from marriage, as in the following case:

582 602 [595]

Functional analysis of terms : ♀ speaking. (W.S.)

601

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are ***BABA, eiyo***, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.=***APULAIYO***, <Masae ***apula***, <***apu***, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.=***eiyo*** as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.=***KONYIT***, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other catagories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.=***Sindet***.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

Ego's own Generation.

As when M.S., there is a distinction between the paternal and maternal sides. The children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as ***MACHOKOR, machokor***, while on on the maternal side we have :—

[602]

(1) M.Br.S. and D.=***AGWI, agwi***.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.=***EIYO, eiyo*** :—

child,' it being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister. 601 197

APAA=children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa* =M.Sis.H., F.Br.S. (*ar'-t'-apa*,) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dorobo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULAIYO=M.Br. <Masae *apula* <*apu*.

SINDET=F.Sis., F.Br.W. <stem found in Masae *e-sindani*, 'sister in law.' *Sindet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pukot* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families[1] forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.: 59

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
E. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.
+ F. or M.		

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)
F. and M.	E. son, wife, and children

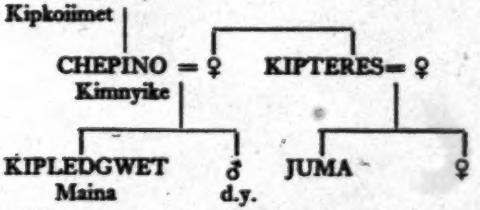
2. *Clan group*

E.F.	E.F.	
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
Man and wife	Man and wife	♀ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are thus: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up 602 [855]

[1] Definitions of "family":
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (E.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or steading, if based on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (D.F.)
Extended family=a group of families related by genealogy or adoption living together as a defined unit, e.g. Father, and son and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Ext. F.)

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., FaBr., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,



Kipleŋgwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOKOR.*

(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA.*

(3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *APAA.*

(4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA.*

(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI.*

(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

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The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are: 561

♂		♀	
yetik:	uncircumcised boys.	*Tipik:*	girls.
Murenik:	circumcised men.	*Yoostik:*	married women.
Apaiisiek:	elders.	*Eygitoginik:*	old women.

Boys are *yetik* till circumcised, when they become *murenik* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *apaiisiek* when the change over occurs.[1] The sub-divisions, *mostinuek*, of the Dorobo age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior: *Choyinisk.*
Middle: *Taparik* or *Kipalkopek.*
Junior: *Rawakanik* or *Kiptaiisik.*

A man belongs normally to the age next but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Younger sons may belong to:
Kipkoiimet	*Kimnyike*	*Nyoggi*
Kaplelach	*Nyoggi*	*Maina*
Kimnyike	*Maina*	*Juma*
Nyoggi	*Juma*	*Sawe*
Maina	*Sawe*	*Kipkoiimet*
Juma	*Kipkoiimet*	*Kaplelach*
Sawe	*Kaplelach*	*Kimnyike*

It may happen, as in Nandi, that a man will be classed with an age next but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to. [191]

With these terminological features, the resemblance of the Dorobo age-sets to the Nandi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently: [701] [182] [602]

[1] See J.R.A.I. lvii. 426, for further details of the Nandi age-set.

14.Cunningford 2-4 (1938-1939):1943
FLS Dundee FLS

[P.190,A]

Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all three families, with the result that Kimisi and Kipkutik are socially inferior to their brothers Kiptanui, Kenimo, and Kipet, Kipsir; while Leina, Kipilat, and Kipkoimo are all inferior to Lemiga. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that " So and so is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation.

The general principles of Dorobo behaviour may be summarised thus (from the standpoint of " ego "):

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no loose talk or bad language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become acts. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasised in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brother, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and

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Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dondo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a hoor or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dondos of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapsingkandi Dondos (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dondos living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sawiyo. (See map of the Dondos country.) Before the Government dispersed them the Dondos possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their initiation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being reincarnations and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Venie Gisiru Masai; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, elusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, ash and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: bowers, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, cultivated earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,